

## The Cold War and Nationalism 1945-2001

### I. Roots of Cold War

#### A. War-time conferences

1. **Tehran Conference**, 1943: USSR was guaranteed to be the only power to liberate eastern Europe
2. **Yalta Conference**, 1945:
  - a. Stalin pledged to allow democratic elections in eastern Europe (but later reneged)
  - b. Germany would be divided into four zones controlled by U.S., France, Britain and USSR
  - c. After the war, the Soviets dominated their zone and did not allow the reunification of Germany
3. **Potsdam Conference**, 1945:
  - a. U.S. president Harry Truman demanded free elections in eastern Europe but Stalin refused
  - b. Stalin wanted a "buffer zone" between Germany and USSR for protection against a future war

#### B. Different world views

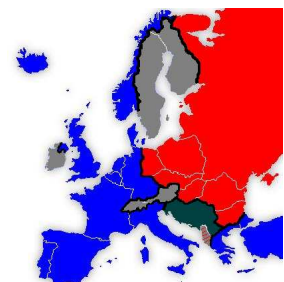
##### 1. Soviet point of view:

- a. Democracies were traditionally hostile towards communism and the USSR
  - e.g., Archangel expedition during WWI; non-recognition by U.S. until 1933
- b. U.S. & Britain did not open a western front in Europe early enough in WWII; millions of Soviet soldiers died fighting the brunt of Nazi armies alone until mid-1944.
- c. The US and Britain froze Russia out of the atomic bomb project.
- d. US terminated lend-lease to Moscow in May 1945 but gave Britain aid until 1946.
- e. Soviets sought a "buffer zone" for the Soviet western border, especially in Poland

##### 2. U.S. point of view:

- a. Stalin seemed intent on creating "spheres" of influence in eastern Europe
- b. Stalin broke pledges at Yalta; refused to allow reunification of Germany
- c. **Winston Churchill's "Iron Curtain"** speech in 1946 alerted Americans to a future conflict with the USSR

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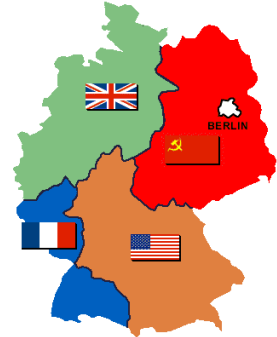


Countries in red are behind the "Iron Curtain"

- d. U.S. wanted democracy spread throughout the world with a strong international organization to maintain global peace

### C. Partition of Germany

1. USSR, U.S., Britain & France each occupied a part of Germany and theoretically would allow for German reunification once she was no longer a threat.
2. Germany was to pay heavy reparations to USSR in the form of agricultural and industrial goods.
3. Soviets dominated their eastern German zone
  - a. Did not want a revitalized Germany that could once again pose a threat.
  - b. Stripped East Germany of much of its resources as reparations payments for the war.
4. U.S. and western Europeans believed the German economy was vital to the recovery of Europe
5. 1949, **West Germany** became an independent country when US, France and Britain gave back each of their zones
  - **Federal Republic of Germany** – led by Konrad Adenauer (1949-1963)
6. 1949, **East Germany** formally established – **Democratic Republic of Germany** led by Walter Ulbricht (1950-1971)
  - Ulbricht's communist regime was heavily influenced by Moscow



Division of Germany after World War II

## II. "Containment": By 1947, the US pledged to prevent the further spread of communism

- A. George Kennan (U.S. ambassador to USSR) wrote a memo to President Truman in 1946 claiming that the USSR was out to disrupt the American way of life.

### B. Truman Doctrine, 1947

1. Established the U.S. policy of containment that would last four decades.
2. U.S. gave aid to Greece and Turkey that helped those countries defeat communist insurgencies.
3. U.S. pledged it would help any country financially that was struggling to defeat communism.

C. **Marshall Plan**, 1949-51

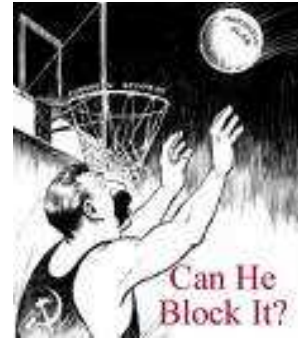
1. U.S. sent a massive financial aid package of \$13 billion to help war-torn Europe recover from the war
2. Purpose: prevent communism from spreading into economically devastated regions while fostering trade between the U.S. and Europe.
3. Result: western and central Europe recovered economically—the "economic miracle" (see chapter 26)
4. Soviets refused to allow U.S. aid to countries in eastern Europe
  - Saw the Marshall Plan as an economic and political power play by the U.S.

D. **Berlin Crisis** (1948-49): Soviets attempted to remove the Allies from Berlin by cutting off access to the city.

1. Berlin had been partitioned into four sections, just as the whole of Germany had been partitioned after the war.
  - The city was located within the Soviets' eastern zone.
2. Stalin ordered that all roads leading into West Berlin be blocked by Soviet troops.
3. Crisis became one of the high tension points of the Cold War
  - Many thought the conflict could escalate into World War III
4. U.S. organized a massive airlift of 277,000 flights into the city, carrying food, medicine and other necessary supplies.
  - At its peak, a flight landed every 45 seconds.
5. After 11 months, the Soviets agreed to lift the blockade in 1949

E. **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)** formed in 1949

1. Founded in response to the Berlin Crisis.
2. Collective security organization consisted of the democracies in Europe, U.S. & Canada to prevent against Soviet expansion in Europe.
  - If any of the 12 member nations were attacked by the Soviets, the other nations would come to its defense.
3. In response to West Germany joining NATO in 1954 the Soviet Union formed the **Warsaw Pact** in 1955
  - Similar to NATO in that it provided for collective security for Eastern Bloc countries controlled by the USSR.



A political cartoon in the late-1940s illustrating Stalin's opposition to the Marshall Plan.

Source: Library of Congress

4. NATO remains intact today, having grown to 26 countries, although its mission is being redefined now that the Cold War is over.
- F. 1949, Communists in China led by **Mao Zedong** won the Chinese revolution
  1. Established "**Peoples Republic of China**" ("Red China")
  2. Terrible blow to the U.S. policy of containment; the world's most populous country was now communist
- G. 1949, Soviets successfully tested an atomic bomb
  1. The U.S. no longer had a nuclear monopoly
  2. Much of the knowledge necessary for the Soviets to build the bomb came from espionage on the U.S. atomic program.
- H. **Korean War: 1950-1953**
  1. After WWII, Korea divided at 38<sup>th</sup> parallel: north was communist, south was not
  2. 1950, North Korea (supported by the Soviets) invaded South Korea
  3. United Nations (led by the U.S. military & Gen. Douglas MacArthur) sent forces to push back communists
    - UN Security council was able to vote for military action against North Korea since the Soviets were boycotting the UN in protest of U.S. refusal to allow the People's Republic of China into the UN Security Council
  4. China sends hundreds of thousands of troops to push back UN forces in North Korea.
  5. Result: cease-fire reached in 1953 and the border was restored at the 38<sup>th</sup> parallel
    - The cease-fire is still in existence today
- I. **Hydrogen bomb** developed by the U.S. in 1952 & USSR in 1953
  1. Far more destructive than the atomic bombs dropped on Japan at the end of World War II.
  2. The world now had two nuclear superpowers
- J. U.S. policy of "**massive retaliation**" between 1953-55
  1. Under President Eisenhower, the U.S. policy temporarily shifted to helping eastern European countries remove communism.
  2. U.S. vowed to destroy USSR with nuclear weapons if it tried to expand

### III. The **Soviet Union** and the **Eastern Bloc**: 1945-1964

#### A. Russia under Stalin (1945-1953)

1. Stalin reinstituted oppressive rule
  - a. Great Patriotic War of the Fatherland had fostered Russian nationalism and a relaxation of dictatorial terror.
  - b. Stalin's struggles with a new foe, the U.S., provided an excuse for re-establishing a harsh dictatorship.
  - c. After the war, Stalin repressed millions of Soviet citizens living outside Soviet borders when the war ended.
  - d. Between 1946-1953, the Soviet government was responsible for over 12 million deaths of its own citizens, more than any other period during the 20<sup>th</sup> century (even the civil war and purges).
    - Most of the deaths occurred in the **gulags** (forced labor camps)
2. Five-year plans in USSR reintroduced to tackle massive economic reconstruction
  - a. Stalin revived many forced labor camps which had accounted for roughly 1/6 of all new construction in Soviet Union before the war
3. Culture and art were also purged

#### B. Countries in Eastern Europe were dominated by Soviet Union after WWII

1. Included Poland, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, East Germany, Romania, Bulgaria and Albania
2. Communist parties of eastern Europe established one-party states by 1948, with help of the Red Army and the KGB (Soviet secret police)
  - a. Only Yugoslavia, led by **Marshall Josip Broz Tito** (r. 1944-1980) was not dominated by Soviets
    - Had freed itself from Nazi domination without the help of the USSR
    - Had a mixed economy with private ownership of certain businesses, state control of basic industries, and collectivization of farming.
  - b. Over half a million Czechs who were seen as a threat to the communist state were purged at the behest of Stalin.
  - c. 200,000 arrested in Hungary; 180,000 in Romania; 80,000 in Albania.
  - d. An uprising in East Germany in 1953 was crushed by Soviet troops.

3. Postwar economic recovery in eastern Europe proceeded along Soviet lines.
    - a. Changes went forward at slow & uneven pace; came to almost a halt by the mid-1960s.
    - b. Most had 5-year plans, like in the USSR
    - c. Emphasized heavy industry and agriculture rather than consumer goods.
  4. **Czechoslovakia**
    - a. Czechoslovakia was the economic exception in eastern Europe: well-industrialized, strong middle class and industrial working class, and experience with political democracy between the wars.
    - b. During "dualist period", President Benes and Foreign minister Jan Masaryk proposed to govern a social democracy while maintaining close voluntary relations with the USSR.
    - c. In response to Marshall Plan in 1947, Stalin replaced the gov't in 1948 with 1-party communist rule to prevent the nation from courting the West.
- C. USSR under **Nikita Khrushchev** (1894-1971)
1. Power struggle ensued after Stalin died in 1953; Khrushchev emerged as the leader a few years later
  2. Stalin's successors realized reforms were needed.
    - a. Widespread fear and hatred of Stalin's political terror resulted in reduction of power of secret police and gradual closure of the gulags.
    - b. Agriculture was in bad shape.
    - c. Shortages of consumer goods were significant.
    - d. Hard work and initiative declined due to poor living conditions.
  3. **De-Stalinization**
    - a. 20th Party Congress, 1956: Khrushchev took a startling initiative against hard-liners by denouncing Stalin's crimes in a closed session.
      - Secret anti-Stalin speech was probably most influential statement in Russia since Lenin's "April Theses" in 1917.
    - b. Gosplan: Resources shifted from heavy industry and the military toward consumer goods and agriculture – Centralized Economic Planning
      - Khrushchev sought to prove that communism was superior to capitalism while the USSR would be the model communist state in the world
        - Khrushchev also began wooing new nations of Asia and Africa with promises and aid, even if they were not communist.

- To the West Khrushchev said, "**we will bury you,**" thus promising to eclipse economically the U.S. and its Allies
- c. Great ferment in the arts (as anti-Stalinist views tolerated)
  - **Boris Pasternak** (1890-1960), *Dr. Zhivago* (1956)
    - Story of an intellectual who rejects the brutality of the Bolshevik revolution of 1917 & Stalinism, and is ultimately destroyed
  - **Aleksandr Solzenitsyn**: *One Day in the Life of Ivan Denisovich* (1962)
    - Portrays in grim detail life in a Stalinist gulag (where he had been a prisoner)
- d. De-Stalinization resulted in communist reformers and the masses seeking greater liberty and national independence.
  - Khrushchev was willing to allow different forms of socialism to occur in the various eastern European countries so long as the Communist Party remained in control.
  - Poland: March 1956, riots resulted in release of more than 9,000 political prisoners, including previously purged leader Wladyslaw Gomulka.
    - Gomulka skillfully managed to win greater autonomy for Poland while keeping anti-Soviet feeling at bay.
  - **Hungarian Uprising, 1956**
    - Students and workers in Budapest installed a liberal Communist reformer, **Imre Nagy** as new chief in October 1956.
    - Hungarian nationalists staged huge demonstrations demanding non-communist parties be legalized; turned into armed rebellion and spread throughout the country.
    - Hoped U.S. would come in and help achieve Hungarian independence
    - Soviet tanks and troops responded by invading Hungary and crushing the national democratic revolution.
    - **János Kádár** installed firm communist rule
    - After Hungarian invasion, most eastern Europeans hoped for small domestic gains while obediently following USSR in foreign affairs.

#### IV. The Cold War during Khrushchev's rule

##### A. Relations between the USSR and U.S. improved in the 1950s with the rise to power of Nikita Khrushchev

1. Khrushchev sought "**peaceful coexistence**" with the West so that he could focus on improving the Soviet economy
2. **Austrian Independence:** USSR agreed in 1955 to real independence for a neutral Austria after 10 years of Allied occupation.
  - Resulted in significant reduction in cold war tensions between 1955 & 1957.
3. **Geneva Summit -- 1955** (July)
  - a. USSR met with the U.S., Britain, & France to begin discussions on European security & disarmament
  - b. No agreements resulted
4. **Sputnik, 1957**
  - a. A Russian satellite was sent into orbit on a rocket and was brought back safely to the USSR.
    - Scientifically, this was an unprecedented achievement.
  - b. Demonstrated that the USSR was ahead of the U.S. in space technology
  - c. Effectively began the "**space race**" with the U.S. as Americans were horrified that the Soviets had eclipsed U.S. technology in this area.
5. 1958, USSR's relations with the U.S. soured with Khrushchev's ultimatum for Allies to leave Berlin
  - Yet, his 6-month deadline passed without incident and was extended indefinitely

##### B. Cold War worsened during the early 1960s

1. **U-2 incident (1960):** American U-2 spy plane shot down over USSR
  - a. Khrushchev demanded an apology from President Eisenhower; Eisenhower refused
  - b. The scheduled Paris Summit in 1960 between Khrushchev and Eisenhower was canceled as a result
2. The **Berlin Wall**
  - a. 2 million East Germans escaped to West Berlin between 1949-1961
    - The Soviets and East German government grew increasingly frustrated



- b. 1961, Khrushchev threatened to enforce his 1958 ultimatum to remove the Allies from West Berlin
    - Declared the USSR would sign peace treaty with East Germany who would then control access to Berlin
    - Soviets would protect East Germany's right to control flow into Berlin.
  - c. The U.S., Britain and France refused to leave
  - d. East Germany built the Berlin Wall around West Berlin rather than enforce the ultimatum to U.S.
    - Effectively ended future crises over Berlin
3. **Cuban Missile Crisis**, October 1962
- a. **Cuba** became a communist country in 1959 under the leadership of **Fidel Castro**, and a staunch ally of the USSR
  - b. Bay of Pigs Invasion, 1961: U.S.-trained Cuban exiles tried unsuccessfully to invade Cuba
    - In response, Cuba agreed to place Soviet nuclear missiles in Cuba to protect against a future U.S. invasion
  - c. **Cuban Missile Crisis**, 1962: U.S. demanded Soviets remove their newly installed nuclear missiles from Cuba.
    - Crisis became the closest USSR and US came to nuclear war during the Cold War
    - U.S. placed blockade (naval quarantine) on any further missiles into Cuba
    - Khrushchev agreed to remove missiles in return for U.S. removing its missiles from Turkey and vowing never to invade Cuba
    - Crisis weakened Khrushchev and contributed to his downfall in 1964
  - d. **Nuclear Test Ban Treaty**, 1963:
    - U.S., USSR & Britain signed a historic treaty banning atmospheric testing in an attempt to reduce Cold War tensions
    - France refused to sign (was in the process of developing its own nuclear weapons program)
    - China became a nuclear power in 1964 leading to its estrangement with the Soviet Union
- C. Fall of Khrushchev, 1964
- 1. His cold war foreign policies were seen by the Politburo as erratic & ultimately unsuccessful (Berlin, Cuban Missile Crisis)
  - 2. Expensive space and armaments programs postponed any significant shift to consumer goods.

3. Most important reason: agricultural projects backfired
  4. Resurgence of conservative Stalinists led to quiet removal of Khrushchev in October, 1964
  5. **Leonid Brezhnev** became new General Secretary (1964-1982)
- V. Soviet Union and Cold War under Brezhnev
- A. Beginning in 1964, the USSR began a period of stagnation and limited re-Stalinization
1. Massive arms buildup started in response to the humiliation of the Cuban Missile Crisis.
  2. USSR avoided direct confrontation with the U.S. and ironically seemed more committed to peaceful coexistence than Khrushchev had been.
  3. Re-Stalinization of USSR resulted, to a degree
  4. Dictatorship was collective rather than personal—through the **Politburo**.
  5. Intense conservatism of Soviet ruling elite was determined to maintain status quo in Soviet bloc.
  6. Celebrated nonconformists as **Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn** were permanently expelled from country
- B. **"Prague Spring"** and the invasion of Czechoslovakia
1. The 1968 invasion of Czechoslovakia was the crucial event of the Brezhnev era.
  2. Due to Khrushchev's reforms in USSR, 1960s brought modest liberalization and more consumer goods to eastern Europe
  3. 1968, reform elements in the Czechoslovak Communist party gained a majority and voted out long-time Stalinist leader.
  4. **Alexander Dubcek** elected leader: ushered new period of thaw and rebirth in famous "Prague Spring" of 1968.
    - a. "Socialism with a human face" sought greater democracy and freedom of speech
    - b. Influence of Czech reformers frightened hard-line communists.
  5. Soviet troops brutally invaded Czechoslovakia in August 1968, with the help of other Eastern Bloc countries.
  6. Czechoslovakia became one of most hard-line communist regimes well into 1980s.
  7. **Brezhnev Doctrine** issued in response to "Prague Spring": Henceforth, the Soviet Union and its allies had the right to intervene in any socialist country whenever they saw the need

### C. **Ostpolitik**

1. **Willy Brandt**, West German chancellor (1969-1974), began to improve relations with eastern Europe through his "eastern initiative"
2. Brandt sought a comprehensive peace settlement for central Europe and a new resolution of the "**German Question.**"
3. Negotiated treaties with USSR, Poland, and Czechoslovakia that formally accepted existing state boundaries and the loss of German territory to Poland and USSR in return for mutual renunciation of force or threat of force.
4. "Two German states within one German nation"
  - a. Brandt's gov't broke with the past and entered into direct relations with East Germany.
  - b. Aimed for modest practical improvements rather than reunification
  - c. Brandt brought Germany's Social Democrats (S.P.D.) to national power for first time since the 1920s.
    - Demonstrated two-party political democracy had taken firm hold.
5. Result of Brandt's policies
  - a. West Germany's eastern peace settlement contributed to great reduction in East-West tensions
  - b. Germany assumed a leadership role in Europe.

### D. **Détente**

1. U.S. Secretary of State **Henry Kissinger** and **President Richard Nixon** tried to place Brandt's eastern initiatives in broader, American-led framework of reducing East-West tensions in early 1970s.
  - Feared Germany might become neutral thus weakening NATO & U.S. influence in Europe
2. Nixon hoped to gain Soviet aid in pressuring North Vietnam into agreeing to end the Vietnam War.
  - a. **Realpolitik**: Nixon & Kissinger believed U.S. should pursue policies and make alliances based on its national interests rather than on an ideological world view.
    - Sought to play USSR and China off each other
  - b. Nixon visited China in 1972: Soviets were concerned China & U.S. might draw closer

- c. Nixon visited Moscow, 1972: ushered in an era known as *détente*.
  - Sought to establish rules to govern the rivalry between US and USSR and China.
- 3. **SALT I 1972**
  - a. Brezhnev and Nixon signed treaty to stop making nuclear ballistic missiles and to reduce the number of antiballistic missiles to 200 for each power.
  - b. Yet, development of MIRVs soon thereafter made SALT I obsolete (multiple warheads on one missile)
- 4. **Helsinki Conference, 1975**
  - a. **Final Act:** Officially ended World War II by finally legitimizing the Soviet-dictated boundaries of Poland and other east European countries.
  - b. In return, Soviets guaranteed more liberal exchanges of people and information between East and West and the protection of certain basic "human rights."
    - Yet, Moscow continued to squelch human rights in eastern Europe.
- 5. End of *détente*
  - a. Soviet invasion of **Afghanistan** led to U.S. refusal to ratify SALT II treaty (reducing nuclear armaments) and led to President Carter's boycott of the 1980 Olympics in Moscow
    - In response the Soviets boycotted the 1984 Olympics in Los Angeles.
  - b. US stopped shipments of grain and certain advanced technology to the Soviet Union.
    - Only Britain stood behind the U.S. sanctions.
    - France, Italy and especially West Germany argued that Soviet's deplorable action should not be turned into an East-West confrontation.
- E. **"Solidarity" in Poland**
  - 1. **Pope John Paul II** (a Polish cardinal) was elected in 1979: traveled through Poland preaching love of Christ and country and "inalienable rights of man."
  - 2. Inspired a popular movement of working people who organized a massive union called **"Solidarity."**
    - a. Led by **Lech Walesa**
    - b. Demands included right to form free trade unions, right to strike, freedom of speech, release of political prisoners and economic reforms.

3. 1981, Polish gov't led by Communist party leader, General Jaruzelski imposed martial law after being warned by Soviets if the Polish gov't could not keep order, the Soviets would.
  - Solidarity was outlawed and driven underground but remained active

## VI. Cold War and Revolution in the 1980s

A. The **Atlantic Alliance** revitalized itself in the 1980s under the leadership of Ronald Reagan in the U.S., **Margaret Thatcher** in the UK, and **Helmut Kohl** in Germany.

1. In the 1980s, all three nations believed the USSR remained a dangerous threat (e.g. its 1979 invasion of Afghanistan)
2. Atlantic Alliance gave indirect support to ongoing efforts to liberalize authoritarian communist states in eastern Europe.
3. **Margaret Thatcher** became prime minister in 1979.
  - a. Came to power after a year of bitter strikes had eroded support for the ruling socialist Labour party.
  - b. As a conservative, she advocated hard-line military positions (like Reagan)
    - **Falklands War** (1982)
      - Argentine forces invaded and occupied the Falkland Islands, 500 miles off coast of Argentina.
      - Thatcher sent fleet to retake the islands; gained enormous popularity and was reelected as a result
4. **Helmut Kohl**, distinctly pro-American, came to power with conservative Christian Democrats in 1982.
5. **Ronald Reagan** took a hard-line stance against the Soviets during the first term of his presidency.
  - a. Dealt with Soviets from position of strength by embarking on massive military buildup.
    - Reagan believed US could better bear burden of the expense while the Soviets couldn't.
    - **Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI) – "Star Wars"**: 1983, Reagan announced his intention to pursue a high-technology missile-defense system
    - Reagan's dramatic increase in defense spending placed enormous pressures on the Soviet economy.

- b. When the Soviets shot down a Korean passenger airliner that had accidentally flown over Soviet airspace, Reagan called the USSR the “**Evil Empire**”
- B. **Mikhail Gorbachev** (1985-1991) and the reduction of Cold War tensions
1. Gorbachev assumed control of Soviet Union in 1985 and sought reforms
    - a. Gorbachev, in his 50s, was considerably younger than the communist hardliners that preceded him
    - b. **Perestroika** (“restructuring”): Aimed to revive the sagging Soviet economy by adopting many of the free-market practices of the West.
      - By 1987, program had clearly failed
    - c. **Glasnost**: Aimed to open Soviet society by introducing free speech and some political liberty, while ending party censorship; more successful than *perestroika*
    - d. **Demokratiztsiya**: Began as an attack on corruption in Communist party and as an attempt to bring class of educated experts into decision making process.
      - March 1989: first free elections since 1917.
  2. Gorbachev sought to reduce East-West tensions.
    - a. Withdrew Soviet troops from Afghanistan.
    - b. Encouraged reform movements in Poland and Hungary
    - c. Repudiated Brezhnev Doctrine by pledging to respect political choices of peoples of eastern Europe.
  3. **INF Treaty** signed by Gorbachev and Reagan in Washington, D.C., December 1987.
    - a. All intermediate-range nuclear missiles from Europe banned.
    - b. Represented a major milestone in reduction of Cold War tensions
  4. Cutbacks in **START I** treaty signed in 1990 between Gorbachev and President George Bush
    - Would cut 10% of U.S. nuclear weapons and 25% of Soviet nukes and limit ICBM warheads

- C. **Revolutions of 1989:** ended communist control of eastern Europe
1. Costs of maintaining satellite countries for USSR, both politically and economically, were too much of a burden for the Soviets to handle.
  2. **Poland: Solidarity** legalized again and free elections promised in June 1989.
    - a. Elected the first non-communist leader in eastern Europe since the Stalin era
    - b. Triggered a wave of freedom movements in eastern Europe
    - c. **Lech Walesa** became president in 1990 but Solidarity later broke up into factions.
  3. **Hungary:** October 23, Hungarian leaders proclaimed an independent republic
    - A coalition government emerged
  4. **Germany: Berlin Wall** came down in November and the East German gov't fell as a result
    - a. Germany reunified in 1990
    - b. Conservative-liberal "alliance for Germany," tied to West German chancellor Helmut Kohl's Christian Democrats, defeated the East German Social Democrats.
    - c. July 1990, East and West German economies merged.
    - d. Soviets opposed unified Germany in NATO but eventually acquiesced when West Germany provided massive economic aid to Soviet Union.
  5. **Czechoslovakia "Velvet Revolution"** (Dec., 1989)
    - a. The fall of the Berlin Wall inspired reformers to break away from Soviet influence.
    - b. A general strike resulted in the fall of the communist government.
    - c. **Vaclav Havel**, the dissident playwright, became president
    - b. In 1993, the Czech Republic and Slovakia split into two different countries.
      - Ethnic differences between the Czechs and Slovaks precluded a stable unified state.
  6. **Bulgaria**, Nov. 1989
    - a. Did not have an organized reform movement (like Poland and Czechoslovakia)
    - b. A day after the fall of the Berlin Wall, the Bulgarian politburo demanded that its leader resign, purged Stalinists, and encouraged its estranged ethnic Turks to return to the country.

7. **Romania** – Oppressive dictator **Nicolai Ceaușescu** was overthrown and assassinated in Dec. 1989
  - About 1,000 people died as a result of the revolution.
8. Albania, 1990
  - a. Europe's poorest country
  - b. Inspired by the overthrow of Ceaușescu in 1989, demonstrations plagued the government for over a year
  - c. The Communist government fell in June 1991.

## VII. Fall of Soviet Union

### A. Long-term Causes

1. Costs of protecting and maintaining its empire in eastern Europe were too high
2. Call for reforms from the burgeoning middle class became increasingly influential in the 1970s and 1980s.
3. General economic crisis in Europe during the 1970s (largely spurred by the oil crisis) laid the foundation for the collapse of communism in Eastern Europe in the late 1980s.
4. Nationalist resentment of the Soviet government grew among many of the Soviet republics, especially the Baltic republics of Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia, eventually leading to the empire's downfall
5. The economy continued to lag since the 1960s
  - Although Gorbachev's *perestroika* policies sought to reform the economy, increased shortages of goods further frustrated the Russian people

### B. Coup in Moscow, 1991

1. Communist hard-liners, frustrated by loss of Soviet power and prestige after the Revolutions of 1989, attempted to overthrow Gorbachev
2. Coup failed when military refused to crush popular resistance
3. **Boris Yeltsin**, the president of Russia (1991-2000), defied Soviet tanks and became a national hero.
4. Coup fatally weakened Gorbachev and spelled doom for the Soviet Union.



C. Yeltsin and his liberal allies declared Russia independent and withdrew from the Soviet Union—all other republics followed.

1. December 25, 1991, Soviet Union dissolved into 15 separate republics
2. Republics remained economically connected for a few years via the **Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS)**
3. Russia assumed the Soviet Union's seat in the United Nations Security Council.

#### VIII. Post-1991 Challenges in Central and Eastern Europe

##### A. Russian struggle

1. President Boris Yeltsin's government failed to significantly improve the Russian economy
  - Transition to a market economy proved slow and painful
2. 1993, Yeltsin became embroiled in a power struggle with a conservative parliament
  - a. Parliament's leaders, holed up in the White House (the parliament tower in Moscow), unleashed a crowd to assault the Kremlin and the television center.
  - b. Yeltsin sent tanks against the White House; 120 killed and top floors of tower shelled and burned.
    - Moscow had not seen such violence since 1905.
3. One of the biggest issues of the 1990s and early 2000s was the insurgency in the predominantly Muslim Russian republic of **Chechnya**
  - Significant violence between government forces and rebels continued for over a decade
4. On New Year's Day, 2000, Yeltsin resigned due to poor health and lack of popularity
  - Succeeded by former KGB colonel **Vladimir Putin** (2000- )
5. Putin gradually began re-centralizing power

##### B. Eastern Europe

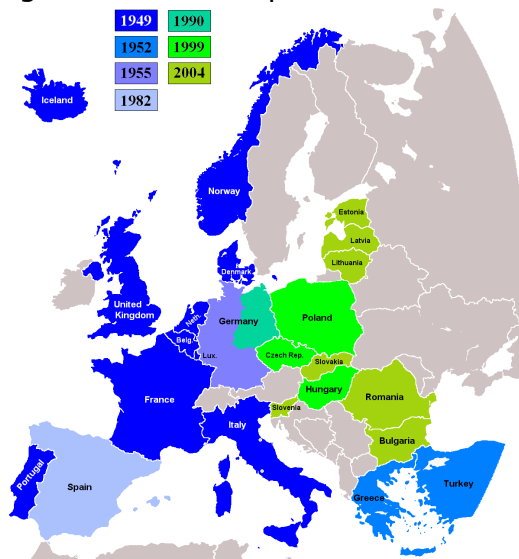
1. Shift to market economy was difficult
  - a. No precedents existed to guide the transition and legal, institutional, and cultural underpinnings were missing.
  - b. In the short run, economic activity declined by 1/3
  - c. Poland most successful: by 1993, GDP grew over 4%, & 5% in 1995; the fastest in Europe.
  - d. Czechoslovakia adopted world's first mass privatization scheme

- e. Hungary's economy was the freest in eastern Europe but changed more slowly.
  - Well-established private sector was attractive to foreign lenders; attracted nearly half of eastern Europe's foreign investment.
2. By 1995, Poland, Czechoslovakia, and Hungary were doing well enough to be taken seriously as potential European Union (EU) members by the year 2000.
3. Continuing problems
  - a. Unemployment figures about 15% throughout most of the region
  - b. Inflation remained dangerously high in some countries
  - c. Governments ran large deficits
  - d. In 1995, former communists returned to power in Bulgaria, Hungary, Lithuania and Poland but capitalism remained an important aspect of eastern European economies.

### C. Eastern Europe's integration into Europe

#### 1. NATO welcomed former Eastern Bloc countries

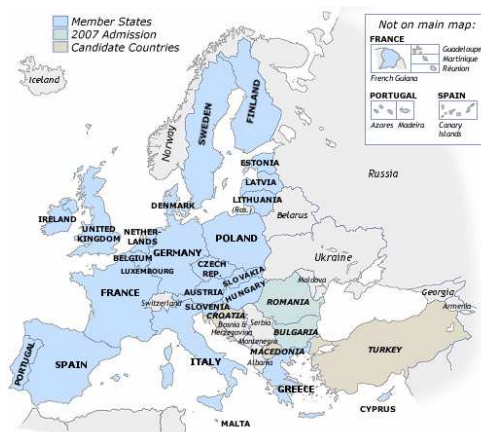
- a. 1999:  
Czech Republic  
Poland  
Hungary
- b. 2004:  
Estonia  
Latvia  
Lithuania  
Slovakia  
Slovenia  
Romania  
Bulgaria



NATO Flag

#### 2. European Union in 2004

- Czech Republic  
Estonia  
Hungary  
Latvia  
Lithuania  
Poland  
Slovakia  
Slovenia



European Union flag

## IX. Nationalism since World War II

### A. De-Colonization

1. European powers experienced the disintegration of their colonial empires after World War II.
  - a. Between 1947 and 1962, almost every colonial territory gained independence.
  - b. New nations of Asia and Africa were deeply influenced by Western ideas and achievements.
2. Causes
  - a. Modern nationalism and belief in self-determination and racial equality, spread from intellectuals to the masses in virtually every colonial territory after WWI.
  - b. Decline of European prestige
    - Japanese victories in Asia over European colonial powers inspired colonies to rise up against their European colonial masters
    - Destruction of Europe during WWII made the colonial powers vulnerable to nationalistic sentiments in Asia and Africa
  - c. After 1945, European powers were more concerned about rebuilding Europe thus their colonies became less of a priority

### 3. Asia

- a. **India** played a key role in decolonization and the decline of imperialism.
  - **Indian National Congress:** British had no choice but to develop a native political elite that could assist in ruling such huge country.
  - Exposure of young Indians to Western ideas of nationalism, socialism, and democracy led to demands for independence by the early 20<sup>th</sup> century.
  - **Mohandas K. Gandhi** (1869-1948): after WWI he led the independence movement through the principle of **passive resistance (civil disobedience)**
  - **Jawaharlal Nehru** (1889-1964) led the Congress party in its push for independence
  - Prime Minister **Clement Attlee** and others in the Labour party wished to focus on domestic British affairs.
  - **Lord Louis Mountbatten:** appointed to supervise transition of India to independence
  - India was divided into two nations: India (which was predominantly Hindu) and Pakistan (predominantly Muslim)

b. Vietnam

- After Japan was removed after WWII, the French tried to reassert control of Indochina (including Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia)
- **Ho Chi Minh** led the independence movement in the north
  - 1954, defeated French forces at **Dien Bien Phu**
- 1954, Vietnam was divided into North (communist) and South (pro-Western); a civil war resulted
- The U.S. was eventually defeated in its attempt to prevent the communist takeover of South Vietnam
- Vietnam was unified in 1975 and free of western influence

4. Arab Nationalism

- a. Arab nationalists were loosely united by opposition to colonialism and migration of Jews to Palestine
- b. **Balfour Declaration** in 1917 indicated Britain favored creation of Jewish "national home" in Palestine—opposed by Saudi Arabia & Transjordan
- c. Great Britain announced its withdrawal from Palestine in 1948.
- d. United Nations voted for the creation of two states, one Arab and one Jewish
- e. Palestinians vowed to fight on until Israel was destroyed or until they established own independent Palestinian state
  - Led to several wars and numerous conflicts in late 20<sup>th</sup> century

5. **Africa**

a. **Egypt**

- Arab defeat in 1948 by Israel triggered a successful nationalist revolution in Egypt in 1952 that effectively ended British control of Egypt
- 1956, Egyptian president **Gamal Abdel Nasser** nationalized the Suez Canal, the last symbol and substance of Western power in the Middle East.
- France, Britain and Israel attacked Egypt, trying to take back control of Suez Canal
- U.S. and Soviet Union demanded their withdrawal and the canal remained in Egypt's control

- b. **Algeria, mid 1950s**
    - Algeria's large French population considered Algeria an integral part of France and did not want the colony to become independent.
    - A bitter war broke out between France and Algerian nationalists.
    - Charles de Gaulle, who had returned to power as part of movement to keep Algeria French, accepted principle of Algerian self-determination.
    - 1962, after more than a century of French rule, Algeria became independent and the European population quickly fled.
    - Crisis led to the fall of the French Fourth Republic and beginning of the **Fifth Republic**
  - c. **Sub-Saharan Africa**
    - Decolonization proceeded much more smoothly than in northern Africa
    - **British Commonwealth of Nations:**  
Beginning in 1957, Britain's colonies achieved independence with little or no bloodshed; entered a very loose association with Britain.
      - Exception: **Mao Mao society** were a Kenyan group of terrorists/freedom fighters who fought to end English control of Kenya.
    - 1958, De Gaulle offered leaders of French black Africa a choice of total break with France or immediate independence within a kind of French commonwealth.
      - All but one of new states chose association with France.
      - Cultural imperialism continued
        - France and Common Market partners saw themselves as continuing their civilizing mission in black Africa.
        - Desired markets for industrial goods, raw materials, outlets for profitable investment, and good temporary jobs for their engineers and teachers.
- B. Eastern Europe and Russia during the Cold War (see above)
- 1. Revolts against Soviet influence in the 1950s & 60s
    - a. East Germany, 1953
    - b. Poland, 1956
    - c. **Hungary, 1956**
    - d. **Czechoslovakia, 1968**

2. 1980s
    - a. **Solidarity** in Poland
    - b. **Revolutions of 1989**
  3. Czechoslovakia split into the Czech Republic and Slovakia in 1992
  4. Fall of the Soviet Union, 1991
    - a. Baltic states: Latvia, Lithuania, Estonia
    - b. Muslim republics: Azerbaijan, Georgia, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan
    - c. Eastern Europe: Russia, Belarus, Moldova, Ukraine
    - d. Armenia
    - e. Chechnyan rebellion (within Russia after 1991)
- C. Civil War in Yugoslavia
1. Cause: 1990 **President Slobodan Milosevic** sought a Serbian-dominated Yugoslavia
    - Established tighter central control over previously autonomous regions
  2. In response **Croatia & Slovenia** declared independence and each fought Serbia successfully
  3. **Bosnia-Herzegovina** declared its independence in March 1992 and civil war spread there.
    - a. Bosnian Serbs (about 30% of population) refused to live in a Muslim-dominated state and began military operations assisted by Serbia and the Yugoslav federal army
    - b. Bosnian major city of Sarajevo under attack
    - c. **Ethnic cleansing:** Bosnian Serbs tried to liquidate or remove Muslims by shelling cities, confiscating or destroying of houses, gang rape, expulsion, and murder.
      - Several hundred thousand Bosnians killed
    - d. **Dayton Agreements, 1995:** Agreed to divide Bosnia between Muslims and Serbs
      - Bosnian Serb aspirations to join a Greater Serbia frustrated by U.S. and other NATO troops sent to enforce the Dayton agreements.
  4. **Kosovo crisis, 1999:**
    - a. Milosevic attempted to ethnically cleanse Kosovo (province of Serbia) of ethnic-Albanians
    - b. **NATO**, led by U.S., bombed Serbia in order to stop the ethnic cleansing
  5. Milosevic removed from power in 2000 and placed under international charges for war crimes
    - Died in prison in 2006 before he was tried
  6. Montenegro voted for its independence in 2006 thus eliminating the last vestige of Yugoslavia.

#### D. Nationalism in Western Europe

1. Unification of Germany, 1990
  - a. German unity changed face of European politics: Germany now an economic powerhouse
  - b. "Ossies" (East Germans) came to feel like 2nd-class citizens in the face of economic difficulties
  - c. Meanwhile, "Wessies" (West Germans) resented years of heavy taxation to rebuild the east.
2. British resistance to the EU in the late 1980s
  - Though it joined the EU, it did not take part in the European Monetary Union (EMU) and accept the *euro* as its currency
3. French resistance to NATO in the 1960s
  - Feared American dominance in European politics
4. Terrorist organizations
  - a. **Irish Republican Army (IRA)** terrorized English cities demanding that Northern Ireland be returned to Ireland.
  - b. ETA in the Basque region of Spain used terrorism in its attempt for independence
5. Xenophobia (anti-immigration)
  - a. **"Guest Workers"** became a major source of tension among right-wing nationalists
    - North African immigrants in France
    - Turkish immigrants in Germany and Austria
  - b. In France, **Jean-Marie Le Pen** was the most outspoken opponent of both immigration and French integration into the European Union.
  - c. In Austria, **Jorg Haider** led the right-wing Austrian Freedom Party that was staunchly opposed to immigration
    - His party's ascension to the ruling coalition government in 2000 resulted in the EU demanding that he step down

## Terms to Know

Tehran Conference	Salt I
Yalta Conference	Helsinki Conference
Potsdam Conference	Soviet invasion of Afghanistan
"Iron Curtain" speech	Solidarity
West Germany (Federal Republic of Germany)	Pope John Paul II
East Germany (German Democratic Republic)	Lech Walesa
Truman Doctrine	Atlantic Alliance
containment	Margaret Thatcher
Marshall Plan	Helmut Kohl
Berlin Airlift, 1948-49	Ronald Reagan
NATO	Mikhail Gorbachev
Warsaw Pact	<i>glasnost</i>
hydrogen bomb	<i>perestroika</i>
"massive retaliation"	INF Treaty, 1987
Eastern Bloc	START Treaty, 1990
Joseph Stalin	Revolutions of 1989
gulags	German reunification
Josip Broz Tito	Vaclav Havel, "Velvet Revolution"
Nikita Khrushchev	Romania, Nicolai Ceaucescu
De-stalinization	fall of Soviet Union
20 <sup>th</sup> Party Congress speech	Boris Yeltsin
Gosplan	Chechnya
Boris Pasternak, <i>Dr. Zhivago</i>	Vladimir Putin
Aleksandr Solzenitsyn, <i>One Day in the Life of Ivan Denisovich</i>	De-colonization
Hungarian Uprising, 1956	India, Gandhi
"Peaceful Coexistence"	Dien Bien Phu
Austrian independence	Egypt
Geneva Conference, 1955	Algeria
<i>Sputnik</i>	British Commonwealth of Nations
"space race"	Mao Mao
U-2 incident	Yugoslavia
Berlin Wall	Slobodan Milosevic
Cuban Missile Crisis	Croatia
Leonid Brezhnev	Slovenia
"Prague Spring"	Bosnia-Herzegovina
"socialism with a human face"	ethnic cleansing
Alexander Dubcek	Dayton Agreements
Brezhnev Doctrine	Kosovo
Willy Brandt	Irish Republican Army (IRA)
<i>Ostpolitik</i>	Basques, ETA
<i>détente</i>	"guest workers"
	Jean-Marie Le Pen
	Jorg Haider



## **Essay Questions**

*Note: This sub-unit is a high probability area for the AP exam. In the past 10 years, 10 questions have come wholly or in part from the material in this chapter. Below are some practice questions that will help you study the topics that have appeared on previous exams or may appear on future exams.*

1. Identify and analyze factors that were responsible for the onset of the Cold War.
2. Analyze the ways in which the Soviet Union was able to maintain control of the Eastern Bloc nations in the period between 1945 and 1988.
3. Identify and analyze reasons for the decline of communism and Soviet influence in eastern Europe between 1968 and 1989.
4. Identify and analyze long-term causes for the fall of the Soviet Union?
5. "Western liberalism won the Cold War." Assess the validity of this statement.
6. Identify and analyze factors that led to the de-colonization of Europe's empires in Africa and Asia.
7. Analyze the ways in which nationalism played a major role in European affairs between 1945 and 2001.
8. To what extent was nationalism the dominant force in eastern Europe between 1989 and 2001?

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